The Syntax of Imperatives in English and Germanic

Word Order Variation in the Minimalist Framework

Laura Rupp



Contents

Acknowledgements				
1	Imp	peratives and the Minimalist Program	1	
	1.1	<u> </u>	1	
	1.2		Program 3	
	1.3	Summary of the data	12	
		1.3.1 Absence of T, Agr and C elemer	nts 12	
		1.3.2 Subject realization	14	
		1.3.3 The nature of $do(n't)$	16	
		1.3.4 Word order variation	17	
		1.3.5 Constraints on the use of <i>not</i>	18	
	1.4	A final note	19	
2	Functional Categories in Imperative Clause Structure		Structure 21	
	2.1	The problem	21	
	2.2	2.2 INFL (AGR)		
	2.3 COMP		27	
	2.4	ASP(ect)	31	
		2.4.1 Aspect and imperatives	31	
		2.4.2 ASPP and the aspectual auxiliar	ies 34	
3	(C)overt Imperative Subjects		45	
	3.1	The issues	45	
	3.2	Restrictions on available subject-DPs	47	
	3.3	3 The status of the overt imperative subject		
		3.3.1 Against a vocative analysis	55	
		3.3.2 Against <i>ImpNP</i> (Platzack and Ro	osengren 62	
	2.4	1997)		
	3.4	The identity of the null subject of imp	peratives 65	
4		Syntax and Status of do(n't) in Imperati	ives 73	
		4.1 The puzzle		
	4.2	2 Against imperative-do(n't) analyses		
		4.2.1 Beukema and Coopmans (1989)) 76	

		4.2.2 Zanuttini (1991)	78	
		4.2.3 Zhang (1990) and Henry (1995)	84	
	4.3	The status of <i>don't</i> in imperatives	92	
	4.4	The syntax of $do(n't)$ in imperatives	94	
5	The Syntax of Subjects in Imperatives			
	5.1	The EPP(-feature)		
	5.2	The position of the subject in 'inverted' imperatives		
		5.2.1 Against a SpecVP analysis	99	
		5.2.2 Against a SpecIP analysis	101	
		5.2.3 The SpecFP analysis	109	
	5.3	Subject position(s) revisited: optional movement	116	
6	Mar	king Negation	121	
	6.1	The puzzle	121	
	6.2	Previous analyses	124	
		6.2.1 Zanuttini (1991)	124	
		6.2.2 Platzack and Rosengren (1997)	127	
		6.2.3 Beukema and Coopmans (1989)	129	
		6.2.4 Potsdam (1996)	133	
	6.3	An alternative analysis	137	
7	Imperative Subjects in Germanic		145	
	7.1	Dutch	14ϵ	
		7.1.1 Verb morphology	146	
		7.1.2 Subject realization	147	
		7.1.3 Subject syntax	149	
		7.1.4 The [AGR] hypothesis	150	
	7.2	Belfast English (Henry 1995)	151	
	7.3	West Flemish	155	
		7.3.1 Verb morphology	155	
		7.3.2 Subject properties	157	
	7.4	German	159	
	7.5	Danish (Jensen 2002)	160	
8	Discussion		163	
	8.1	Motivating movement	163	
	8.2	· ·	166	
	8.3	Optional raising to SpecIP	167	

167

	. 1	
8.4	Raising to SpecFP	170
8.5	Conclusion	171
Notes		173
Referen	ces	193
Index		203

Contents vii